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XXIII.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *TATLER*,
PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO NEWS

It is well known that when Isaac Bickerstaff began his lucubrations in 1709, he projected a periodical which, in accordance with the *Quicquid agunt homines . . . nostri farrago libelli*¹ that so frequently served as the motto of its earlier numbers, should include various departments, of which one was to be the department of foreign and domestic news.² It is also well known that this department

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.* I, 85-86. This was the motto of the first forty papers and also of Nos. 47, 49-54, 56-62, 65, 70-78, 80.

² "We . . . shall divide our relation of the passages which occur in action or discourse throughout this town, as well as elsewhere, under such dates of places as may prepare you for the matter you are to expect, in the following manner:

"All accounts of gallantry, pleasure, and entertainment shall be under the article of White's Chocolate-house; poetry, under that of Will's Coffee-house; learning, under the title of Grecian; foreign and domestic news, you will have from St. James's Coffee-house; and what else I shall on any other subject offer, shall be dated from my own apartment" (*Tatler*, No. 1). In the original sheets this notice is repeated in the second and the third number.

was virtually abandoned before the *Tatler* had half run its course, and absolutely given over long before January 2, 1711, on which day Steele bade goodbye to his readers. But the precise rate at which the department of news diminished in importance, and the causes which probably governed the change, have been the subject of some very inaccurate statements and conjectures,³ although not all references to the matter have been wide of the mark.⁴

³ Macaulay, in his famous review (*Edinburgh Review*, July, 1843) of Miss Lucy Aikin's *Life of Joseph Addison* (2 vols., London, 1843) writes: "The gazette was taken from him [Steele]. Isaac Bickerstaff accordingly became silent upon politics, and the articles of news which had once formed about one-third of his paper, altogether disappeared. The *Tatler* had completely changed its character. It was now nothing but a series of essays on books, morals, and manners. Steele, therefore, resolved to bring it to a close, and to commence a new work on an improved plan" (*Edinburgh Review*, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 235).

John Forster (*Quarterly Review*, March, 1855; *Historical and Biographical Essays*, 2 vols., London, Murray, 1858) holds precisely Macaulay's view: "His [*i. e.*, Steele's] loss of the Gazette had entailed a change in the conduct of his paper, which had convinced him of the expediency of recasting it on a new plan. The town was startled by the announcement, therefore, that the *Tatler* of the 2nd January, 1710-11, was to be the last" (*Historical and Biographical Essays*, II, p. 187). The text of this passage is the same as in the *Quarterly Review*, with the exception of entirely unimportant differences in phrasing.

M. Alexandre Beljame (*Le public et les hommes de lettres en Angleterre au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1881) introduces another error,—the statement that news in the *Tatler* ceased with No. 83. Says Beljame (page 277): "Steele . . . dans son premier numéro, annonça . . . qu'il donnerait des nouvelles étrangères et domestiques. Car Steele ne supprime pas encore la politique, non plus que Defoe; mais tandis que dans la *Revue* elle est encore la partie principale et a le poste d'honneur, elle est dans le *Babillard* un simple accessoire et reléguée au second plan. Peu à peu même les nouvelles furent moins importantes et plus rares, et à partir du 83e numéro elles disparurent tout à fait."

To the same effect Fox Bourne (*English Newspapers; Chapters in*

It is first of all necessary to know exactly how many numbers of the *Tatler* contained news. To determine this, recourse must be had to the original issues, because all

the History of Journalism, 2 vols., London, Chatto & Windus, 1883, I, p. 73) writes: "In the earlier numbers of 'The Tatler' . . . due attention was paid to politics in the section dated from St. James's Coffee-house. . . . Gradually, however, politics dropped out of the paper, . . . With the eighty-third number it became entirely non-political."

Fox Bourne's generalizations are precisely contrary to Swift's statement in *The Importance of the Guardian considered* (1713): "This gentleman [*i. e.*, Steele], whom I have now described to you, began between four and five years ago to publish a paper thrice a week, called 'The Tatler;' it came out under the borrowed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, and by contribution of his ingenious friends, grew to have a great reputation, and was equally esteemed by both parties, because it meddled with neither. But, some time after Sacheverell's trial, when things began to change their aspect, Mr. Steele, whether by the command of his superiors, his own inconstancy, or the absence of his assistants, would needs corrupt his paper with politics; published one or two most virulent libels, and chose for his subject even that individual Mr. Harley, who had made him gazeteer" (Swift's *Works*, ed. T. Scott, v, pp. 287-288).

The Tory point of view toward supposed political allusions in the *Tatler* appears also in the *Examiner*, Vol. III, No. 48 (May 4-8, 1713), where several apparently fictitious characters are named, and "at least fifty more" are said to exist, who were "Sufferers of Figure under the *Author's* Satyr, in the Days of his Mirth, and when he could shew his Teeth to Advantage." Among the papers in the *Tatler* obviously referred to by the *Examiner* are Nos. 24, 187, 191, and 193. The case of No. 191 is probably typical: a character in it was thought to be intended for Harley; Steele (*Guardian* 53) protested that the character fitted anyone who "seeks employment for his own private interest, vanity, or pride, and not for the good of the country"; and the *Examiner* (Vol. IV, No. 2) rejected the idea that such characters as Polypragmon of *Tatler* 191 were "general characters, and stand for a whole species." On the political interpretation of *Tatler* 24, see *Examiner* 5; on that of *Tatler* 187, see *The Life and Posthumous Writings of Arthur Maynwaring* (1715), pp. 145 ff. This is "The History of Hannibal and Hanno," which is referred to in the index as "a very fine Allegory."

later editions omit more or less of the news.⁵ Accordingly in Column D of Table I the presence or absence of news in the original issue is noted for each number of the *Tatler*.

It appears, therefore, if we may trust Swift and the *Examiner*—both unfriendly witnesses—that it was the later numbers of the *Tatler* rather than the earlier, and by no means the articles from St. James's, that were suspected of veiling political allusions.

“Courthope's view (*Addison*, in the “English Men of Letters” series, New York, 1884, p. 97), though not developed in detail, is thoroughly sound. After the hundredth *Tatler*, he observes, the news, when it does occasionally appear, “is as often as not made the text of a literary disquisition.” . . . “The truth is that Steele recognized the superiority of Addison's style, and with his usual quickness accommodated the form of his journal to the genius of the new contributor.”

Dobson (*Richard Steele*, in the series of “English Worthies,” London, Longmans, 1886, p. 123, note) gives up his earlier view “that the loss of the Gazette sealed the source of Steele's foreign intelligence, and thus entailed a change of plan,” because “a re-examination of the paper shows that the news-element had practically disappeared from the *Tatler* long before Steele ceased to be *Gazeteer*.”

Similarly, Harold Routh (*Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, ix, p. 47): “The loss of his gazeteership, though it deprived Steele of access to first-hand news, can hardly have influenced him, since foreign intelligence in *The Tatler* had long dwindled into an occasional and perfunctory paragraph.”

⁵ Of the original numbers of the *Tatler*, 64 contained news. The octavo edition of 1710-11 omits the news in Numbers 27, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 49, 51, 56, 57, 64, 66, 67, 74, and 88; in other words, it contains news in 48 numbers. The duodecimo edition of 1710-11 omits the news in Numbers 57, 88, and 225, but keeps it in the other 61 numbers. Tickell's edition (1721) of Addison's works includes 62 papers from the *Tatler* as wholly or partly by Addison. Of these the only one which originally contained news is No. 20. From this paper Tickell omits the news. The edition of John Nichols (London, 1786, six volumes) retains news in 57 numbers. Mr. G. A. Aitken's edition (London, 1898-99, four volumes) keeps the news in 62 numbers, but omits it in Nos. 57 and 88. Aitken's edition is therefore, in respect to news, more faithful to the original numbers than any other collected edition.

TABLE I

EXPLANATION

Columns A and B give, respectively, the number of each paper and the date. The later date is in each case that on which the paper appeared.

Column C attempts to summarize the consensus of opinion about the authorship of these papers. S=Steele; Ad=Addison. "S, Ad" indicates a paper made up of one or more parts entirely by Addison and a remainder entirely by Steele. "S + Ad" indicates a paper in which Steele and Addison collaborated in such a way that no special part can be attributed to either.

Column D indicates the amount of news—in inches—in each number.

Column E shows the number of departments (see note 2 on page 633) in each number. Ed=an editorial article; Wh=White's Coffee House; W=Will's; G=The Grecian; SJ=St. James's; O="From My Own Apartment"; SL=Shire Lane; H=Haymarket.

Column F notes the amount of advertising—in inches—in each number.

In view of the rarity of these original issues, the news in *Tatler* 57 and 88, elsewhere inaccessible, is reprinted below:

No. 57

St. James's Coffee-house, August 18. 1709.

Letters which arriv'd this Evening from *Ostend* say, That it is expected the Treaty of Peace will forthwith be renew'd, and that Monsieur *de Torcy* is at present in the *French* Camp, with full Instructions from his Master to act in that Affair in such a Manner, as shall be satisfactory to the Confederates. Monsieur *Heems*, who is Minister to his Imperial Majesty, upon receiving an Account of the Proposals which will be made, went Post to the Court of *Vienna*. These Advices add, That the Attack of the Citadel proceeded with as much Expedition as the Method of the Sap would admit.

No. 88

St. James's Coffee-house, November 1. 1709.

Letters from the *Hague* of the 28th of *October* say, that the Duke of *Marlborough* design'd to embark for *England* as on this Day.

Column G is chiefly occupied by notes on the authorship. In these notes T = Tickell's edition (1721) of Addison's works; Bk = the Baskerville edition (1761); H = Hurd's edition (1811); G = Greene's edition (1856); B = Bohn's edition (1856); N = John Nichols's edition of the *Tatler* (1789); A = G. A. Aitken's edition (1898-99); 1CP = the Preface to the first collected edition (1710-11) of the *Tatler*; 2CP = the Preface to the second collected edition (1710-11) of the *Tatler*; Dr = Steele's dedication (to Congreve) of Addison's *Drummer*, prefixed to the second edition (1722) of this play, which Tickell had omitted from his edition; OI = original issue.

On Swift's relation to the *Tatler* a separate note seems desirable.

Swift denied the authorship of Nos. 237 (see *Journal to Stella*, Nov. 1, 1710), 249 except "the hint, and two or three general heads" (*ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1710), 257 and 260 (*ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1711).

John Nichols in his edition of Swift's works (1801), Nathan Drake in his *Essays . . . illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian* (1805), Sir Walter Scott in his two editions of Swift's works (the first, 1814; the second, 1824), and Temple Scott in the most recent edition of Swift's prose writings agree in attributing to him *Tatler* 32, 35, 59, 63, 66, 67, 68, 70, and 71. Sir Walter Scott and Drake also give him the verses in No. 9; Nichols gives him Nos. 74 and 81; and both Nichols and Temple Scott give him No. 230.

Sir Henry Craik, however, in his *Life of Jonathan Swift* (1882), expresses the opinion (I, p. 255, note) that though No. 66 was "almost certainly written by Swift" and Nos. 59, 67, 68, and 70 bear signs of his style, Nos. 35, 63, and 71 are probably not by Swift and No. 32 is almost certainly not his.

F. Elrington Ball, in his admirable edition of the *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift* (1910-1914), dissents from all of his predecessors: he thinks (I, p. 166, note) that the contributions previously attributed to Swift "did not come from his pen, however much they may owe to his influence." Ball credits to Swift only these passages: in No. 16, the letter from Bath; in No. 21, the letter from Ephraim Bedstaff; and in No. 31, the letter beginning "Dear Cousin."

TABLE I

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
1	April 12	S	7	Ed, Wh, W, SJ, O	1	N, A.
2	" 12-14	S	5	Ed, W, SJ, O	0	N, A.
3	" 14-16	S	3½	Ed, W, SJ, O	0	N, A.
4	" 16-19	S	7	Ed, Wh, W, SJ, O	1	N, A.
5	" 19-21	S	11	Wh, W, SJ, O	2	N, A.
6	" 21-23	S	11	W, G, SJ, O	0	N, A.
7	" 23-26	S	15	Ed, Wh, W, SJ	0	N, A.
8	" 26-28	S	8	W, SJ, O	3	N, A.
9	" 28-30	S	7½	W, Wh, SJ	3	N, A.
10	" 30-May 3	S	18	O, SJ	0	N, A.
11	May 3-5	S	7	W, O, SJ	0	N, A.
12	" 5-7	S(+Swift?)	0	Ed, Wh, W, O	2	S: A. Perhaps S + Swift: N.
13	" 7-10	S	9	O, SJ	4	N, A.
14	" 10-12	S	7	O, W, Wh, SJ	4	N, A.
15	" 12-14	S	2	O, W, Wh, SJ	4	N, A.
16	" 14-17	S	8	Wh, SJ	4	N, A.
17	" 17-19	S	12	W, SJ	7	N, A.
18	" 19-21	S, Ad ¹	6½	O, SJ	4	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ad's part not in T, Bk, H, or B,} \\ \text{though apparently supported by 1 C P,} \\ \text{2 C P, and Dr. Probably Ad: G. S, Ad:} \\ \text{N. Possibly Ad: A.} \end{array} \right.$
19	" 21-24	S	3½	O, W, SJ	8	
20	" 24-26	S, Ad	9½	Wh, W, SJ	3	
21	" 26-28	S	11	Wh, W, O, SJ	3	
22	" 28-31	S	0	Wh, W, O	7	
23	" 31-June 2	S	7	Wh, O, SJ	1	

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
24	June 2-4	Ad?	9	Wh, SJ, O	5	Ad: N, G, A. Not in T, Bk, H, or B.
25	" 4-7	S	7½	Wh, O, SJ	6	N, A.
26	" 7-9	S	0	O, Wh	6	N, A.
27	" 9-11	S	4	Wh, W, O, SJ	7	N, A.
28	" 11-14	S	10	Wh, SJ	7	N, A.
29	" 14-16	S	9	Wh, O, SJ	2	N, A.
30	" 16-18	S	2	O, W, SJ	3	N, A.
31	" 18-21	S	2	G, O, SJ	2	N, A.
32	" 21-23	S & Swift	5	Wh, O, SJ	5	Ad + Swift: N. Swift & Steele: A.
33	" 23-25	S	3½	O, SJ	4	N, A.
34	" 25-28	S	0	Wh, O	8	N, A.
35	" 28-30	S	4	G, Wh, W, O, SJ	5	N, A.
36	" 30-July 2	S or Ad ¹	3	O, Wh, SJ	6	Prob. Ad (internal evidence): N, A.
37	July 2-5	S or Ad ²	3	Wh, W, SJ	7	Prob. Ad (internal evidence): N, S: A.
38	" 5-7	S or Ad ³	3½	O, Wh, SJ	2	Prob. Ad (internal evidence): N, S: A.
39	" 7-9	S	0	G, O	0	N, A.
40	" 9-12	S	7	W, O, SJ	6	N, A.
41	" 12-14	S	3	Wh, W, O, SJ=4	5	N, A.
42	" 14-16	S, Ad	1 ¹	O, W, SJ ¹	6	{ SJ (except first paragraph) by Ad: 1 C P, T, Bk, H, B, G, A. Possibly S and Congreve: N. N prints no name at the beginning, but has no note on the authorship.
43	" 16-19	S	4½	Wh, G, W, SJ	6	{ S: A. N, A.
44	" 19-21	S	4	Wh, W, O, SJ	6	N, A.
45	" 21-23	S	0	Wh, W, O	2	N, A.
46	" 23-26	S	5	Wh, W, SJ ¹	0	N, A.
47	" 26-28	S	0	Wh, G, O	2	N, A.
48	" 28-30	S	0	O	6	N, A.
49	" 30-Aug. 2	S	6½	Wh, SJ	6	N, A.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
50	Aug. 2-4	S or Ad ¹	0	Wh, O	2	¹ Perhaps Ad: N. Doubtful: A. Not in T, Bk, H, B, or G.
51	" 4-6	S	2	Wh, W, O, SJ	8	N, A.
52	" 6-9	S [Ad]	0	Wh, O	3	Ad (internal): N, A.
53	" 9-11	S	5	Wh, W, SJ	1	Possibly Ad: A. S: N.
54	" 11-13	S	0	Wh, O	8	S: N. Possibly Ad: A.
55	" 13-16	S	11	Wh, SJ	4	N, A.
56	" 16-18	S	3	Wh, SJ, O	5	N, A.
57	" 18-20	S	2	W, Wh, O, SJ	9	N, A.
58	" 20-23	S	3	Wh, W, SJ	8	N, A.
59	" 23-25	S [Swift?]	5½	Wh, W, SJ	6	Letter by Swift: N, A. N refers to <i>Genleman's Magazine</i> , Feb. 1, 1781.
60	" 25-27	S	0	Wh, W, O	6	N, A.
61	" 27-30	S	0	Wh, W, O	1	N, A.
62	" 30-Sept. 1	S	3	Wh, W, O, SJ	6	N, A.
63	Sept. 1-3		4	Wh, W, O, SJ	3	Ad, S, and Swift: N. Prob. Ad: A.
64	" 3-6	S, Hughes	13	O, W	7	Letter by Hughes: N, A; John Duncombe, <i>Letters of Several Eminent Persons Deceased</i> , I, p. xi note.
65	" 6-8	S	0	W, O	7	N, A. Swift: N.
66	" 8-10	S?	2½	W, O, SJ	3	S and Swift: N.
67	" 10-13	S	4	O, SJ, W	6	Most of No. 66 prob. by Swift: A.
68	" 13-15	S	0	O, W	4	Swift and Steele: N, A.
69	" 15-17	S	0	O, Wh	4	Swift and Steele: N, A.
70	" 17-20	S	0	O, Wh	8	Swift and Steele: N, A.
71	" 20-22	S	0	O, W	5	Steele and Swift: N, A.
72	" 22-24	S	0	Wh, O	8	N, A.
73	" 24-27	S [Hughes?]	0	Wh, O	7	S, Hughes: N, A. Letters by Hughes: Duncombe, I, p. xi n.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
74	Sept. 27-29	S L, Swift?]]	3	Wh, O, G, SJ	6	S and Swift: N. A thinks Swift had no hand in this paper.
75	" 29-Oct. 1	S+Ad	0	O	10	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
76	Oct. 1-4	S[+Hughes?]	3	O, Wh, SJ	7	Prob. S+Hughes: N. Perhaps: A.
77	" 4-6	S[+Ad?]	0	O, SJ	14	S+Ad (corrigenda): N, A.
78	" 6-8	S[+Ad?]	0	O	6	S+Ad (corrigenda): N, A.
79	" 8-11	S[+Ad?]	0	O	9	S: A. Prob. S+Ad: N.
80	" 11-13	S	2	G, Wh, O, SJ	9	N, A.
81	" 13-15	S, Ad	0	O	0	Ad, S: N, A. ¹ Last paragraph by S: T, Bk, H, G, B.
82	" 15-18	S	0	O	10	N, A.
83	" 18-20	S	1	O, W, SJ	8	N, A.
84	" 20-22	S	0	O, G, W	11	N, A.
85	" 22-25	S[+Ad?]	0	O, Wh	7	S: A. Prob. S+Ad: N.
86	" 25-27	Ad+S	0	O, W	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
87	" 27-29	S	0	W, O	9	N, A.
88	" 29-Nov. 1	S, Ad	½	Wh, O, SJ	10	O by Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
89	Nov. 1-3	S	0	G, O, W	11	N, A.
90	" 3-5	S, Ad ¹	0	W, O	12	¹ W (except first paragraph) by Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
91	" 5-8	S	0	O	9	N, A.
92	" 8-10	S	0	Wh, O	9	N, A.
93	" 10-12	S, Ad	0	W, O	7	Letter and O by Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
94	" 12-15	S	0	W, O	11	N, A.
95	" 15-17	S	0	O	11	S: N. A says nothing.
96	" 17-19	Ad	½	O, SJ	12	Prob. Ad: A. Ad: N.
97	" 19-22	Ad	0	O	12	N, A.
98	" 22-24	S	0	O, W	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
99	" 24-26	S	0	W, O	9	N, A.
100	" 26-29	Ad	0	SL	5	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
101	Nov. 29-Dec. 1	S+Ad	0	0	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
102	Dec. 1-3	Ad	0	0	8	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
103	" 3-6	Ad+S	0	0	6	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
104	" 6-8	S	0	0	11	N, A.
105	" 8-10	S	0	SL	11	N, A.
106	" 10-13	S	0	W	12	N, A.
107	" 13-15	S	0	SL	8	N, A.
108	" 15-17	Ad	0	SL	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
109	" 17-20	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
110	" 20-22	Ad+S	0	SL	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
111	" 22-24	Ad+S	0	SL	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
112	" 24-27	S	0	SL	10	N, A.
113	" 27-29	Hughes	0	H	12	N, A; Duncombe, I, p. xi n.
114	" 20-31	Ad, S	0	SL	12	Ad+S: T, Bk, N. Dying scene by S: H, B, G. N, A.
115	" 31-Jan 3, 1710	S	0	SL, Wh	7	
116	Jan. 3-5	Ad	0	SL	15	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
117	" 5-7	Ad	0	SL	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
118	" 7-10	?	0	0	11	N, A.
119	" 10-12	Ad	0	SL	16	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
120	" 12-14	Ad	0	SL	6	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
121	" 14-17	Ad[+S?]	0	0	11	Ad: T, Bk, N, A. S+Ad (internal): H, B, G.
122	" 17-19	Ad	0	0	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
123	" 19-21	Ad	0	0	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
124	" 21-24	S	0	0	13	N, A.
125	" 24-26	S	0	0	14	N, A.
126	" 26-28	S	0	0	12	N, A.
127	" 28-31	S	0	0	14	N, A.
128	" 31-Feb. 2	S	0	0	11	N, A.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
129	Feb. 2-4	Ad?	0	0	12	S: N.
130	" 4-7	Ad?	0	SL	13	Ad (internal evidence): A. S: N.
131	" 7-9	Ad	0	SL	12	Ad (corrigenda): A.
132	" 9-11	S	0	SL	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
133	" 11-14	Ad?	0	SL	12	N, A.
134	" 14-16	S	0	SL	14	Ad + S: N.
135	" 16-18	S	0	SL	10	Ad: T, Bk, H, B, G, A. N, A.
136	" 18-21	Ad?	4	Wh, SJ, SL	13	N, A. S or A: N. "Not unlikely" that Ad "was the au- thor of the 'History of Tom Var- nish,'" (A).
137	" 21-23	S	8	SL, SJ	13	N, A.
138	" 23-25	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
139	" 25-28	S	0	SL	15	N, A.
140	" 28-Mar. 2	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
141	Mar. 2-4	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
142	" 4-7	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
143	" 7-9	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
144	" 9-11	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
145	" 11-14	S	0	Wh	11	N, A.
146	" 14-16	Ad	0	0	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A. Ad + S: A ¹
147	" 16-18	Ad(, S?)	0	0, SL	12	¹ A quotes T as attributing No. 147 to Ad + S. The three copies of T that I have consulted ascribe No. 147 to Ad without qualification.
148	" 18-21	Ad	0	0	11	Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G. T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
149	Mar. 21-23	S	0	0	10	N, A.
150	" 23-25	S	0	0	11	N, A.
151	" 25-28	S (or S+Ad?)	0	0	13	?S+Ad (corrigenda): N, A.
152	" 28-30	Ad	0	0	4	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
153	" 30-Apr. 1		0	0	10	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
154	Apr. 1-4	Ad	0	0	5	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
155	" 4-6	Ad	0	0	4	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
156	" 6-8	Ad	0	0	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
157	" 8-11	Probably Ad	0	0	9	?Ad: 1 C P, 2 C P, Dr, N. A is doubtful. Not in T, Bk, H, B, or G. A
158	" 11-13	Ad	0	0	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
159	" 13-15	S	0	0	7	N, A.
160	" 15-18	Ad, S	0	0	10	First part by Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
161	" 18-20	Ad	0	0	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
162	" 20-22	Ad	0	0	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
163	" 22-25	Ad	0	W	10	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
164	" 25-27	S	0	0	10	N, A.
165	" 27-29	Ad	0	0	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
166	" 29-May 2	S	0	Wh, O	13	N, A.
167	May 2-4	S	0	0	11	N, A.
168	" 4-6	S	0	0	11	N, A.
169	" 6-9	S	0	0	11	N, A.
170	" 9-11	S	0	0	11	N, A.
171	" 11-13	S	0	G	13	N, A.
172	" 13-16	S	0	0	12	N, A.
173	" 16-18	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
174	" 18-20	S	8	O, SJ	12	N, A.
175	" 20-23	S	3	O, SJ	18	N, A.
176	" 23-25	S	0	O, SL	11	N, A.
177	" 25-27	S	0	SL	15	N, A.
178	" 27-30	S	0	SL	8	N, A.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
179	May 30-June 1	S	0	O	9	N, A.
180	June 1-3	S	0	O	12	N, A.
181	" 3-6	S	0	O	12	N, A.
182	" 6-8	S	0	SL	11	N, A.
183	" 8-10	S	0	O	12	N, A.
184	" 10-13	S	0	O	12	N, A.
185	" 13-15	S	0	O	14	N, A.
186	" 15-17	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
187	" 17-20	S	0	O, W	12	N, A.
188	" 20-22	S	0	O	11	N, A.
189	" 22-24	S	0	O	12	Perhaps S + Ad: N. S: A.
190	" 24-27	S	0	SL	12	Perhaps S + Ad: N. S: A.
191	" 27-29	S	0	O, W	12	Perhaps S + Ad: N. S: A.
192	" 29-July 1	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A. S: N. ?S: A.
193	July 1-4	S?	0	W	13	S (1 C P and <i>Guardian</i> 53) denied the authorship of the letter in this number. It has been attributed to Anthony Henley and Temple Stanyan (Nichols, <i>Tatler</i> , v, p. 184) and also (John Forster, <i>Historical and Biographical Essays</i> , London, 1858, II, p. 116 n.) to Maynwaring. See, further, note 3 on p. 635 of the present article.
194	" 4-6	S or Hughes	0	O	14	Perhaps Hughes: N, A.
195	" 6-8	S	0	G	9	N, A.
196	" 8-11	S	0	O	10	N, A.
197	" 11-13	S	0	G	10	N, A.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
198	July 13-15	S	0	O	9	N, A.
199	" 15-18	S	0	Ed	10	N, A.
200	" 18-20	S	0	O	10	N, A.
201	" 20-22	S	0	Wh, O	12	N, A.
202	" 22-25	S	0	O	11	N, A.
203	" 25-27	S	0	SL	11	N, A.
204	" 27-29	S	0	O	13	N, A.
205	" 29-Aug. 1	Sam'l Fuller ¹	0	O	10	Fuller: N, A. ¹ On Steele's authority (<i>Theatre</i> , No. 26).
206	Aug. 1-3	S	0	O	11	N, A.
207	" 3-5	S	0	O	12	N, A.
208	" 5-8	S	0	O	10	N, A.
209	" 8-10	S	0	O	14	N, A.
210	" 10-12	S	11	SL, SJ	11	N, A.
211	" 12-15	S	0	Ed	10	N, A.
212	" 15-17	S	0	O	12	N, A.
213	" 17-19	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
214	" 19-22	S	0	O	15	Perhaps S + Ad: N, A.
215	" 22-24	S	0	O	10	N, A.
216	" 24-26	Ad	0	O	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
217	" 26-29	S	0	O	11	N, A.
218	" 29-31	Ad	0	O	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
219	" 31-Sept. 2	S or Ad	0	O	11	?Ad: N, A.
220	Sept. 2-5	Ad	0	O	10	1 C P, 2 C P, Dr, T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
221	" 5-7	?Ad	0	O	12	?Ad: N, A.
222	" 7-9	?Ad	0	O	15	?Ad (corrigenda): N, A.
223	" 9-12	?Ad	0	O	11	?Ad (corrigenda): N. Edward Wortley Montagu: A.
224	" 12-14	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
225	" 14-16	S	3	O, SJ	12	N, A.
226	" 16-19	Ad	0	O	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	O Notes
227	Sept. 19-21	S	0	0	17½	N, A.
228	" 21-23	S	0	0	13	N, A.
229	" 23-26	Ad	0	0	17	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
230	" 26-28	S, Swift ¹	0	0	11½	Swift: N, A. ¹ Journal to Stella, Sept. 18 and Sept. 23, 1710.
231	" 28-30	S	0	0	16	N, A.
232	" 30-Oct. 3	S	0	0	12	N, A.
233	Oct. 3-5	S	0	0	12	N, A.
234	" 5-7	S	0	0	12	N, A.
235	" 7-10	Ad or S	0	0	14	Ad (internal): N, S: A.
236	" 10-12	S, [?]	0	0	15	Letter in manner of Ad: N. Author of letter unknown: A. Ad or S + Ad: N.
237	" 12-14	S, Swift	0	0	13	N, A.
238	" 14-17	S, Swift	0	0	17	Journal to Stella, Oct. 17, 1710.
239	" 17-19	Ad	0	0	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
240	" 19-21	Ad	0	0	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
241	" 21-24	S	0	0	13	N, A.
242	" 24-26	S	0	0	13	N, A.
243	" 26-28	Ad	0	0	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
244	" 28-31	S	0	W	14	N, A.
245	" 31-Nov. 2	S	0	0	14	N, A.
246	Nov. 2-4	S	0	0	12	N, A.
247	" 4-7	S	0	0	14	N, A.
248	" 7-9	S	0	0	14	N, A.
249	" 9-11	Ad	0	0	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
250	" 11-14	Ad	0	0	15	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
251	" 14-16	S	0	0	13	N, A.
252	" 16-18	S?	0	0	13	Possibly Chas. Dartiquenave: N. S: A.

TABLE I—Continued

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	C Notes
253	Nov. 18-21	Ad+S	0	0	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A. Ad+S: N, A. ¹
254	" 21-23	Ad[+S?]	0	0	14	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.} \\ \text{Ad+S: N, A.} \\ \text{Steele assisted Ad in No. 254. There is} \\ \text{no such note in the three copies of T} \\ \text{that I have consulted.} \end{array} \right.$
255	" 23-25	Ad	0	0	13	A: T, Bk, H, B, G, A.
256	" 25-28	Ad+S	0	SL	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
257	" 28-30	Ad[+S?]	0	0	10	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A. Ad+S: N, G, A.
258	" 30-Dec. 2	SI [et als]	0	0	12	Ad: T, Bk, H, B.
259	Dec. 2-5	Ad+S	0	SL	14	S, Swift, Prior, Rowe, etc: N, A.
260	" 5-7	Ad[+S?]	0	0	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
261	" 7-9	S	0	0	13	Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G; A+S. A.
262	" 9-12	Ad+S	0	0	14	N, A.
263	" 12-14	S	0	0	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
264	" 14-16	S	0	0	15	N, A.
265	" 16-19	Ad+S	0	SL ¹	14	N, A. T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A. ¹ I have so counted it, though the heading is in the abbreviated form: "Continuation of the Journal of the Court of Honour, etc."
266	" 19-21	S	0	0	15	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
267	" 21-23	Ad	0	0	14	N, A.
268	" 23-26	S	0	0	15	N, A.
269	" 26-28	S	0	0	14	N, A.
270	" 28-30	S	0	0	13	N, A.
271	" 30-Jan. 2, 1711	S	0	Ed	18	Signed "Richard Steele" in OI and subsequent editions.

The facts are, clearly, that news falls off almost from the very first, that it falls off more rapidly after the first fifty numbers, and that after the first one hundred numbers it appears only six times. But *Tatler* No. 100 came out on November 29, 1709; and Steele apparently did not lose the *Gazette* until about the middle of the following October,⁶—ten months and a half after the policy of the *Tatler* in respect to news had become definitely established. Since there is no reason to suppose that Steele knew thus far in advance that a change in the editorship of the *Gazette* was contemplated, it seems necessary to conclude that his loss of that office had nothing to do with the decline of news in the *Tatler*.

Early in our search for other causes we are struck by the fact that Addison, whose influence in the councils of the paper was undoubtedly great, had from the first cared little about news. It will be remembered that when the *Tatler* was begun Addison happened to be in Ireland as Secretary to the Marquis of Wharton, the Lord Lieutenant.⁷ He was apparently not consulted in regard to the

⁶ Swift (*Journal to Stella*) notes the event under date of October 14, 1710, though in a letter to Stella dated September 10, 1710, he predicts that "Steele will certainly lose his *Gazeteer's* place, all the world detesting his engaging in parties" (Swift's *Works*, ed. T. Scott, II, p. 7). Narcissus Luttrell (*A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, etc., VI, p. 643), notes it under date of October 17, 1710. For Swift's conjecture in regard to the reason for Steele's loss of the gazeteership, see Swift's *Importance of the Guardian Considered* (1713), especially the fifth paragraph. There Swift asserts that Steele, "to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his place of *Gazeteer*" (Swift's *Works*, ed. T. Scott, V, p. 288).

⁷ On April 5, 1709, a week before the first *Tatler* appeared, Addison wrote from Whitehall to Ambrose Phillips that he was "just hurrying out of town" (Addison's *Works*, Bohn edition, V, p. 375).

On April 22, 1709, Addison wrote to Swift from Dublin: "We arrived yesterday at Dublin" (Addison's *Works*, ed. Bohn, V, p. 377; *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Ball, I, p. 151).

project; indeed, he is said to have become aware of Steele's authorship only when in No. 6 (April 23, 1709) he recognized a hint which he had himself communicated to Steele.⁸ Addison sent a few contributions from Ireland,⁹ and upon his return to England, in September 1709, became an active and indispensable ally. It is impossible to doubt that in many a long talk the two friends planned for the *Tatler* a career the trend of which was influenced in considerable part by Addison. Addison's feeling about newspapers was made clear almost from his earliest connection with the *Tatler*. In No. 18 he pretends dismay at the effect which the approaching peace is sure to have upon news-writers. "The case of these gentlemen is, I think, more hard than that of the soldiers, considering that they have taken more towns, and fought more battles. They have been upon parties and skirmishes, when our armies have been still; and given the general assault to many a place, when the besiegers were quiet in their trenches." This, to be sure, aims not at the kind of news in the *Tatler* and the *Gazette*, but at the false and exaggerated accounts of the *Postboy*¹⁰ and others. On July 15, 1709, no foreign mails came in, and so Addison, after writing, under the heading "St. James's Coffee-house," his famous inventory of the play-house, concludes with a fling quite in the manner of No. 18, against the *Courant*, *Postboy*, and *Postman*. In No. 55,¹¹ which relates the remarkable cure of a blind man, Addison leads up to his story thus: "While others are busied in relations which

⁸ Tickell's Preface (Vol. I, p. xii) to Addison's *Works*, 1721.

⁹ Parts of Nos. 18, 20, 24, and 42.

¹⁰ Both Abel Boyer, a Whig news-writer, and the *Postboy*, a Tory newspaper, are ridiculed in No. 18. Clearly, therefore, Addison's motive was not merely political antagonism.

¹¹ Which has the well chosen motto, *Paulo maiora canamus*.

concern the interests of princes, the peace of nations, and revolutions of empire, I think (though these are very large subjects) my theme of discourse is sometimes to be of matters of a yet higher consideration." Elsewhere in the same number Steele is contentedly relating from St. James's Coffee-house the defeat of the Swedish army at Pultowa. Even without anticipating the delightful paper on the "Political Upholsterer,"¹² therefore, we may safely conceive Addison's influence to have been, from the beginning, against the notion of making much of news in the *Tatler*.

Steele probably offered but slight opposition. When the *Tatler* began, Steele's experience in periodical writing was solely that of a newspaper man. Newspapers were an established success; essays in the later manner of the *Tatler* were still undeveloped. Naturally, then, Steele began with news as one of his departments. Yet he had shown, even before Addison's return from Ireland, that the *Tatler* was to be no mere newspaper. "You are to understand," he writes in No. 4, "that I shall not pretend to raise a credit to this work, upon the weight of my politic news only, but, as my Latin sentence in the title-page informs you, shall take anything that offers for the subject of my discourse." In No. 5 he is at pains to point out that news should really mean whatever one does not know, whether it be a recent happening or something "even of old Anchises or Æneas . . . set . . . in a different light than has hitherto been hit upon, in order to inspire the love and admiration of worthy actions." In No. 11 he declares that "Politick News is not the principal subject on which we treat." In No. 41 (July 12-14,

¹² *Tatler* 155, April 6, 1710. This, of course, appeared after the *Tatler* had virtually dropped its department of news.

1709) he recounts the valorous Exercise of Arms of the Artillery Company on Wednesday, June 29, 1709. "Happy was it," thinks Isaac Bickerstaff, "that the greatest Part of the Atchievements of this Day was to be perform'd near *Grub-Street*, that there might not be wanting a sufficient Number of faithful Historians, who being Eye-Witnesses of these Wonders, should impartially transmit them to Posterity." The news from St. James's in No. 56 (Aug. 16-18, 1709) conveys the surprising intelligence "That old People die in France. Letters from *Paris* of the 10th Instant, N. S. say, That Monsieur *d'Andre Marquis d'Oraison* dy'd at 85; Monsieur *Bru-mars*, at 102 Years . . . ; *Nicholas de Boutheiller*, Parish Preacher of *Sasseville*, being a Batchelor, held out till 116 . . . M. *Chrestien de Lamoignon* . . . having dy'd young, his Age is conceal'd for Reasons of State."

The tendencies thus indicated, doubtless strengthened later by Addison's advice and contributions, seem to justify us in regarding Steele and Addison as essentially at one in this matter of news in the *Tatler*.

A further cause for the decline of news in the *Tatler* may well have been the growth of the advertisements in the paper. As Mr. Lawrence Lewis¹³ has shown in the case of the *Spectator*, such periodicals as the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* were business enterprises: their editors were beset not only by various literary questions but also by the problem of making the paper pay its way. As we study the increase of advertising in the *Tatler*,¹⁴ we observe that from very modest beginnings indeed—in the first ten numbers an average of not more than an inch of

¹³ Lawrence Lewis, *The Advertisements of the Spectator*, Boston and New York, 1909. See especially Chap. 2.

¹⁴ See Column *F* of Table I.

matter—the advertisements steadily mounted until in Nos. 70-80 we have about two-thirds of a column and in Nos. 100-110 about three-quarters of a column. Thereafter the average is very nearly a column. In other words, as the news decreased the advertisements increased. And in respect both to news and to advertisements the *Tatler* seems to have reached a permanent policy at about the end of the first hundred numbers.¹⁵

¹⁵ With regard to the receipts from advertising we have only the scantiest knowledge. In *Tatler* 224 Addison writes about advertisements and ridicules the extravagant language in which they are usually framed. He says, "Since I am thus usefully employed in writing criticisms on the works of these diminutive authors, I must not pass over in silence an advertisement, which has lately made its appearance, and is written altogether in a Ciceronian manner. It was sent to me, with *five shillings*, to be inserted among my advertisements; but as it is a pattern of good writing in this way, I shall give it a place in the body of my paper." The advertisement is reproduced below in facsimile:

THE highest compounded Spirit of Lavender, the most glorious (if the Expression may be used) enlivening Scent and Flavour that can possibly be; which so ravens the Spirits, delights the Guit, and gives such Airsto the Countenance, as are not to be imagined but by those that have tried it. The meanest Sort of the Thing is admired by most Gentlemen and Ladies; but this far more, as by far it exceeds it, to the gaining among all a more than common Esteem. It is sold (in near Flint Bottles fit for the Pocket) only at the Golden Key in Warton's-Court near Holborn Bars, for 3 s. 6 d. with Directions.

(This advertisement has been reproduced by means of the photostat of the Massachusetts Historical Society from the original issue of the *Tatler* in the Harvard College Library. The reproduction was made possible by the kindness of Messrs. Walter B. Briggs, Worthington C. Ford, and Julius H. Tuttle.)

Though this advertisement is presumably fictitious, it may fairly be supposed that the price is the actual one for such an advertisement. That, however, tells us very little. If the fee was based on the number of words, one column of advertisements in the *Tatler* would bring in about fifty shillings. But if the fee depended upon

Probably more important than any of these causes, however, is the fact that the *Tatler*, begun as a miscellany, presently came to consist of single, unified essays. The growth of this single essay naturally crowded out not merely the news from St. James's, but all other headings except the one—usually "From My Own Apartment"—appropriate to the kind of paper which the *Tatler* in its later and more typical days found most effective,—the lay sermon on taste. This unifying process can best be exhibited in a table (see p. 656).

From this table it appears that at the beginning a single number of the *Tatler* contained three or four unrelated articles, but that after the first hundred numbers there are only thirteen exceptions to the rule that each issue contained one essay. In other words, the policy of the *Tatler* with respect to the single essay becomes fixed at almost precisely the same time that the news disappeared and the advertisements mounted up well toward a column in each issue.¹⁶ Let us take the headings which Steele an-

the nature of the advertisement, we can make no calculation of the total.

In at least one instance (J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism to the Foundation of the Gazette*, London, 1908, pp. 167-8) it appears that the fee for advertisements depended not upon the space or the number of words, but, apparently, upon the value of the return to be expected from the advertisement. This was in 1657. On the other hand, we find in 1649, in 1655, and in 1667, instances where the fee was apparently the same for all advertisements. (Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 164, 167, 184 note 4.) The fact that the Act of June 10, 1712 (10 Ann., c. 19, ci) taxed every advertisement one shilling may mean that at this time the fee was the same for all. It is noticeable that the advertisements in the *Tatler* vary only slightly in length. There may have been a maximum number of words which no advertiser was allowed to exceed.

¹⁶ See Chart on p. 663. In connection with this growth of the single number, note the disappearance of the *Quicquid agunt homines* as a motto. (See p. 633, note 1.)

nounced in his first number and see what becomes of them as the single essay grows:

White's, used 56 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 5 times thereafter.

Will's, used 54 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 6 times thereafter.

The Grecian, used 10 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 3 times thereafter.

St. James's, used 59 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 6 times thereafter.

"From My Own

Apartment," used 85 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 120 times thereafter.

TABLE II

A SUMMARY OF THE CHANGE FROM SEVERAL DEPARTMENTS TO ONE

No.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
	Editorial	White's	Will's	Grecian	St. James's	Own Apt.	Shire Lane	Haymarket	Total
1-10	5	5	9	1	10	8	0	0	38
11-20	1	5	7	0	9	7	0	0	29
21-30	0	9	4	0	8	9	0	0	30
31-40	0	6	3	3	8	9	0	0	29
41-50	0	8	6	2	6	7	0	0	29
51-60	0	10	6	0	7	6	0	0	29
61-70	0	5	8	0	4	10	0	0	27
71-80	0	5	1	2	4	10	0	0	22
81-90	0	2	6	2	2	10	0	0	22
91-100	0	1	4	0	1	9	1	0	16
101-110	0	0	1	0	0	4	5	0	10
111-120	0	1	0	0	0	1	8	1	11
121-130	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	10
131-140	0	1	0	0	2	0	10	0	13
141-150	0	1	0	0	0	5	5	0	11
151-160	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	10
161-170	0	1	1	0	0	9	0	0	11
171-180	0	0	0	1	2	6	4	0	13
181-190	0	0	1	0	0	7	3	0	11
191-200	1	0	2	2	0	6	0	0	11
201-210	0	1	0	0	1	9	1	0	12
211-220	1	0	0	0	0	8	1	0	10
221-230	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	11
231-240	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	10
241-250	0	0	1	0	0	9	0	0	10
251-260	0	0	0	0	0	8	2	0	10
261-271	1	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	11
Totals	9	61	60	13	65*	205	42	1	456

* Two of these (Nos. 42 and 77) do not contain news. One paper (No. 64) contains news under the heading "From My Own Apartment." Consequently, the total number of papers containing news (64) does not equal the total number of papers bearing the heading "St. James's Coffee-house" (65).

It is perhaps a consequence of this change that in certain later numbers of the *Tatler* the relation of news without remark gives place to a kind of editorial comment. In No. 137, for example, under the heading of St. James's, Steele notes briefly the fact that the Duke of Marlborough is just sailing from Harwich, and then launches forth into a eulogy of the Duke.

One suspects, however, that such an editorial as that in No. 137—and still more that in No. 46—means rather that Steele's news had been "scooped" by some of his rivals. In No. 46, indeed, he says as much.¹⁷ The *Tatler*, we remember, appeared on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. This, said Steele in his first number, was "for the convenience of the post." But the foreign mails, though more likely to arrive on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday than on other days, were very irregular,¹⁸ and rival journals, several of them published on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, were numerous.¹⁹ It would be interesting to work out from the files in the Bodleian and the British Museum the full answer to the question of the

" "My Brethren of the Quill, the ingenious Society of News-Writers, having with great Spirit and Elegance already inform'd the World, that the Town of Tournay capitulated on the 28th Instant, there is nothing left for me to say, but to congratulate the good Company here, that we have Reason to hope for an Opportunity of thanking Mr. Withers next Winter in this Place, for the Service he has done his Country." Eulogies of Withers, Argyle, and Marlborough follow. The entire item makes about one-eighth of the number.

¹⁷ John Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, I, p. 133.

¹⁹ Fox Bourne (*English Newspapers*, I, p. 69) has it that "there were six distinct publications to read or choose from on Monday, twelve on Tuesday, six on Wednesday, twelve on Thursday, six on Friday, and thirteen on Saturday." These figures are largely based on a contemporary list, which may not be correct, in the first number of *The General Postscript* (1709). Fox Bourne is certainly wrong in his statement (I, p. 68) that the *Gazette* appeared on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday. See note 21 on p. 658 below.

extent to which the decline of news in the *Tatler* was due to the fact that Steele occasionally found that his "Brethren of the Quill" had stolen a march on him. One suspects this, next to the development of the single essay, to have been the most potent cause of the change.²⁰

During all this time, let us remember, Steele has been editing both the *Tatler* and the *Gazette*.²¹ In both periodicals news has been appearing. How do these news items compare? The following instance is not exceptional:²²

Gazette, No. 4537

Vienna, April 27, N.S. An Express is arrived here from Salzburg, with an account of the Death of the Archbishop of that Place. He is succeeded by Count Harrach, who was formerly Bishop of Vienna, and has been

Tatler, No. 11

Advices from Vienna of the twenty-seventh of April import, that the archbishop of Salzburg is dead; who is succeeded by Count Harrach, formerly bishop of Vienna, and for these last three years coadjutor to the said

²⁰ It will naturally be asked why this cause should not have operated from the beginning of the *Tatler*. Of the six papers which appear to have been published on days when the *Tatler* did not appear, at least two were begun after the *Tatler*: the *Female Tatler*, first issued on July 8, 1709; and the *General Postscript*, which began on September 7, 1709. One is inclined to think that the latter, particularly, might throw light upon the point: its first appearance was just when the decline of news in the *Tatler* was most rapid; and its full title is, *The General Postscript: being an Extract of all that's most material from the Foreign and English Newspapers: with Remarks upon the Observator, Review, Tatlers, and the Rest of the Scribblers: in a Dialogue between Novel and Scandal*. It is in the Bodleian Library (Nichols Newspapers, Vol. 15).

²¹ When the *Tatler* began, the *Gazette* (established in 1665) had reached No. 4531. From then until No. 4551 (June 20-23, 1709) the odd numbers cover Monday to Thursday and presumably appeared on Thursday, and the even numbers cover Thursday to Monday and presumably came out on Monday. Thereafter, throughout the life of the *Tatler*, the *Gazette* appeared on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The intention to make this change is announced in Nos. 4550 and 4551; the change itself, in No. 4552.

²² Cf. *Gazette* 4530 and 4531 with *Tat.* 1; *Gazette* 4533 with *Tat.* 4 and 5; *Gazette* 4535 with *Tat.* 6 and 7; *Gazette* 4536 with *Tat.* 9; *Gazette* 4537 with *Tat.* 10, and so forth.

about three Years Coadjutor to the Archbishop whom he succeeds; that Prelate having been so long incapable of discharging his Pastoral [*sic*; i. e., pastoral] Function by the loss of his Sight. Prince Maximilian of Lichtenstein is likewise dead at his Country Seat of Cromaw in Moravia. The Emperor has thought fit to name Count Zinzendorf, Count Goes, and Monsieur Consbruck to act on his Imperial Majesty's part, in case of an ensuing Congress.

Brussels, May 9, N. S. . . We hear from France that the Marshall de Thesse arrived at Versailles the 29th of the last Month, and the next Day the Chevalier de Benil brought advice from Spain, that on the 17th the English Squadron appear'd before Alicant, and having for some time Connonaded [*sic*] the Town, General Stanhope endeavoured to land some Troops for the Relief of the Castle, but finding the Enemy ready to receive them, and the Attempt very hazardous, if not wholly impracticable, he demanded to Capitulate for the Garrison; this being granted, Hostages were exchanged, and the Capitulation, consisting of 14 Articles, was signed the same Evening. The Garrison, being made up of 600 Regular Troops, marched out the next Day with two Pieces of Cannon, and all other Marks of Honour; and being received on Board, the Confederate Fleet sailed forthwith for Barcelona.

archbishop; and that prince Maximilian of Lichtenstein is likewise departed this life at his country-seat called Cromaw in Moravia. These advices add, that the emperor has named count Zinzendorf, count Goes, and monsieur Consbruck, for his plenipotentiaries in an ensuing treaty of peace.

Letters from Paris, dated May the sixth, say that the Marshall de Thesse arrived there on the twenty-ninth of the last month, and that the Chevalier de Benil was sent thither by Don Pedro Ronquillo with advice, that the confederate squadron appeared before Alicant on the seventeenth, and, having for some time cannonaded the city, endeavoured to land some troops for the relief of the castle; but general Stanhope, finding the passes well guarded, and the enterprise dangerous, demanded to capitulate for the castle; which being granted him, the garrison, consisting of 600 regular troops, marched out with their arms and baggage the day following; and being received on Board they immediately set sail for Barcelona.

Clearly, Steele often used in his two papers precisely the same news and phrased it in almost the same words. This interesting fact, though apparently unnoticed by Macaulay and Forster, who would presumably have used it to strengthen their case, was not unnoticed by Steele's most able rival. This was, of course, the *Examiner*,²³ who in No. 5 directed against poor Steele the following exquisite bit of ridicule:²⁴

We had lately News of a great Action in *Spain*, where for some Years the War has been carry'd on very *calmly*, and we were overjoy'd with the Success that attended Her Majesty's Arms there. I had the Curiosity to read all the Accounts that were given of it; but was more particularly pleas'd with the Relation, which the *Gazetteer* and the *Tatler* of the same Day (as indeed these *two* Authors are never asunder) oblig'd us with.

Nothing can be more Instructive or Entertaining than to see in how different a Manner, and with what a variety of Stile, two eminent Pens may imploy themselves on the same Subject. We equally admire the same *Catiline*, as he is drawn either by *Cicero* or *Salust*: And after we have read that fine Description of the Battle of *Cannæ* in *Polybius*, we are not less pleas'd to read it over again in *Livy*.

²³ The *Examiner*, begun because certain Tory men of letters thought the town "every day imposed upon by false wit, false learning, false politics, and false divinity," ran from August 3, 1710, to July 26, 1714. It was carried on by Dr. William King, Prior, Atterbury, Swift, Mrs. Manley, and others. See Nathan Drake, *Essays . . . Illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler*, I, pp. 10-11; Swift's *Works*, ed. T. Scott, Vol. IX; Catalogue of the Hope Collection (at the Bodleian), Oxford, 1865, pp. 19-21.

²⁴ *Examiner* No. 5 (from Thursday, August 24, to Thursday, August 31, 1710). It has the title *The Gazette and Tatler of August the 12th, compar'd*, and the appropriate motto, *Facies non una duabus, Nec diversa tamen; qualem decet esse sororum*.

The authorship of *Examiner* No. 5 is uncertain: Drake (*op. cit.*, I, p. 11) attributes it to Dr. William King; but the editor of King's Posthumous Works (as quoted by the editor of *The Original Works of William King, LL. D.*, London, 1776, I, p. xxi) tells us that King undertook the *Examiner* about October 10, 1710, which was some six weeks after the appearance of No. 5.

Nay, the different Portraits of King *Charles I*, done by the same masterly hand of *Vandyke*, are more entertaining to a judicious Eye, than the Figures of two several Persons, that have no manner of Resemblance. The happy Mixture of Diversity and Agreement, the Art of so drawing the same Piece, as that it shall be both like and unlike it self, conveys an exquisite Pleasure to him, whose Taste is nice enough to relish it. Something of this Delight I found in comparing my two weekly Friends: And because the best way of improving a Pleasure is to communicate it, I will give my Reader a Specimen of those different Beauties, with which they have described the same Action.

Gaz. *Five thousand Men of his Catholick Majesty's Troops, under General Wesel, in the Lampourdan, were on their march, . . .*

Gaz. *His Catholick Majesty order'd General Stanhope to march with 14 Squadrons of Horse. . . .*

Gaz. *To disturb the Enemy in their Passage of the River Segra and Noguera, between Lerida and Balaguer, . . .*

Gaz. *All the Horse on both sides came to a general Engagement.*

Gaz. *The Duke of Anjou retir'd to Lerida.*

Tat. *Five thousand Men were on their march, in the Lampourdan, under the Command of Gen. Wesel, having receiv'd Order from his Catholick Majesty. . . .*

Tat. *The King of Spain commanded General Stanhope with a Body of Horse consisting of 14 Squadrons*

Tat. *To prevent their Passage over the River Segra and Noguera, between Lerida and Balaguer. . . .*

Tat. *The Battle improv'd to a general Engagement of the Cavalry of both Armies. . . .*

Tat. *That Prince was retiring towards Lerida.*

When I reflect upon these different Turns of Expression, equally Graceful, equally Numerous, I cannot but condemn the Judgment of *Longinus*, and the rest of the *Greek Criticks*, who would persuade us, that after a correct Writer has adjusted the due Order of his Words, there can be no Change of 'em but for the worse. We have here before us a plain Instance to the contrary, of two polite Authors, who relating the same Action have fallen upon much the same Words, and yet have been so happy in the different way of ranging them, as to make it doubtful, whose Periods are most Harmonious, whose Narrative most Beautiful.

Whether *Lampourdan* sounds best at the Beginning or End of the Sentence? Whether *14 Squadrons of Horse*, or *a Body of Horse com-*

sisting of 14 Squadrons, has a better Cadence? Whether their *Passage OF the River*, or their *Passage OVER the River*, is more Elegant and Tuneful, I defy any Critick living to determine.

This, of course, is rather late in the history of the *Tatler*. The causes that we have mentioned—and perhaps others—had long been working. But if, as late as No. 210, Steele felt any strong impulse to continue the comfortable practice of using in the *Tatler* very slightly revised versions of *Gazette* items, that impulse was undoubtedly checked by this article in the *Examiner*.

On the opposite page an attempt has been made at a graphic representation of the principal data underlying this argument.

C. N. GREENOUGH.

EXPLANATION OF THE DIAGRAM

The figures at the bottom of the diagram represent the numbers of the *Tatler*, grouped by tens. Those at the left indicate inches in the case of the solid line, and actual numbers in the other cases. That is to say, the black line ends at 1 for the first ten numbers of the *Tatler* and at 4 for the second ten. This means that the average amount of advertising in Nos. 1-10 is one inch and in Nos. 11-20, four inches. The solid line is, in other words, the average, by groups of ten papers, of the figures given in Column F of Table I (pp. 639 ff.). The short-dotted line is merely a graphic representation of the figures in Column D of Table I, and the long-dotted line represents the average of the figures given in the extreme right-hand column of Table II (p. 656).

